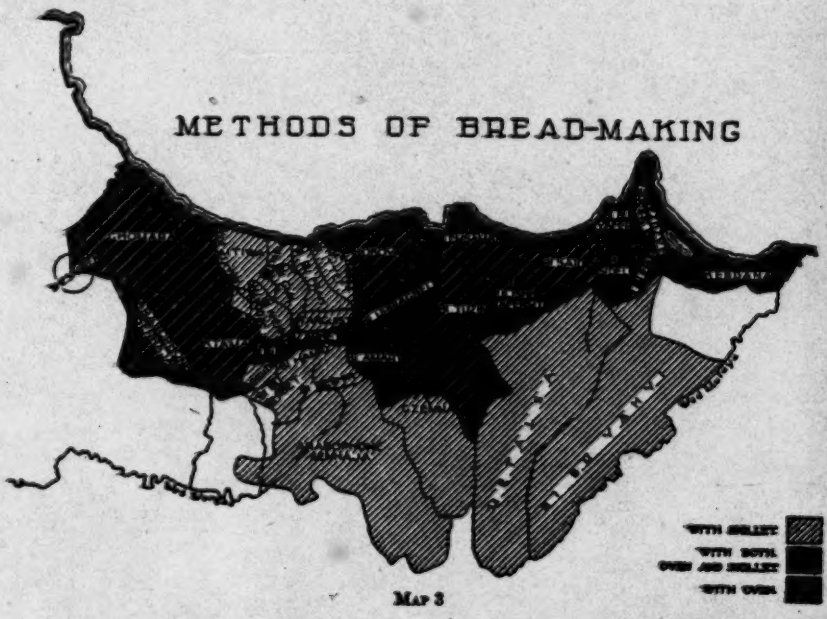
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and lemon juice. After the yeasty dough has been thoroughly diluted in warm water, flour is mixed in, and the resultant dough patted into disc-like loaves. These are piled one on top of the other and allowed to rise until the bubbles start bursting open, and then are thrust into a hot oven, from which the glowing embers of a hot juniper or other brush fire have just been drawn.

The Riffians say that the women of the Senhaja Sghir do not allow their bread to rise as long as do Riffian women, and that the resultant product is not as good. Personally, I found the bread in both places excellent.



MAP 3

It is said that nineteen or twenty loaves of bread can be made from a *mudd* of barley, twenty-four from a *mudd* of wheat, and thirty-two from a *mudd* of rye. In this way rye, although it reproduces less grain than the others, compensates in the final product. A *mudd* is a common Moroccan measure.[1]

Bread is highly prized, due to its scarcity, in the Senhaja Sghir, and in Ktama is eaten only on memorable occasions. Although the usual shape of bread in the Rif, as well as in all Morocco, is discoidal, the Galiya and Kebdana women make long narrow loaves, like French bread. Besides the ordinary bread which has just been described, several types of unleavened bread and pancakes are commonly made:

a)their, dough, is prepared without yeast, and fried on an earthen skillet.

[1] See p. 112, n. 2.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

ḫartsta, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *ḫartsta* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *nkhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imsdurar of Gsennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghsuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *ḫamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the march or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbejuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbejuth misirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guas*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guas* may be purely vegetable or may

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RL MX3

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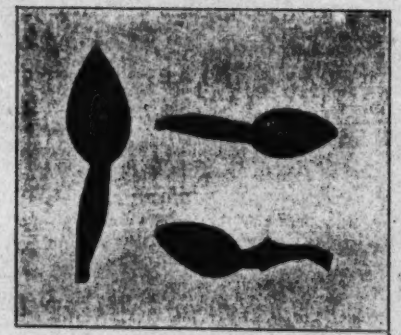


Wooden spoons; left and upper, Gallya, lower right, Gasmaya

Pounding leather, Tesarin, Taghauth

Cutting a thin strip of colored leather for embroidering, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

Stitching leather cartridge-belts, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible. 264 574

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs. 264 [515] [415]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Aaht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished.

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.)

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tusin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tusin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tusin, and Temsaman.

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *seksu* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilise wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghsuth.

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use

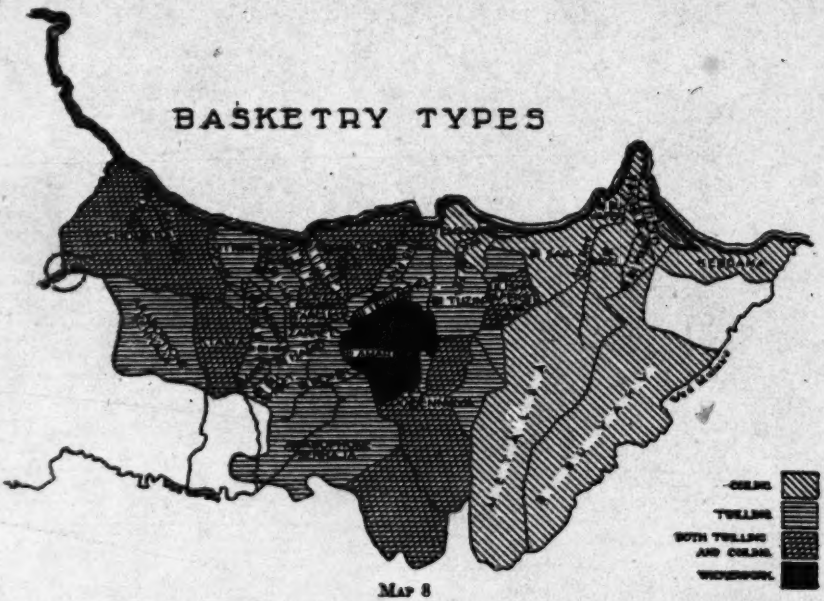
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

415 [234] for the most part containers of iron and of skin, materials which are not apt to break in the course of a nomadic existence. Skins are used to hold all liquids, and likewise as churns for butter.

BASKETRY

285 415 [314] There are three types of basket-making employed in the Rif; coiling, twilling, and wickerwork.

Coil-baskets are made with a bundle of *esref*, a grass, circular in section, as rod, and with palmetto leaves for wrapper. Coiled baskets, generally in the form of shallow trays, called



MAP 8

tubbuk, are supposed to have been introduced by the Arabs. They are found in Ghomara, Mestassa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, Bokoya, Ajdir, Branes, Ktama, Targuist; Khebaba, Shawia, and Beni Yunes of Gaennaya; Temsaman, except for the villages near the sea; Beni Said, with the same exception; Galiya, Kebdana, el Arib of Meidhar, Taferst, lowland Beni Ulishk, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi.

Twilling, called *iji*, is employed in the manufacture of the *ahuari*, or pack-saddle panier, and of the *endu* or flat basket with two handles used as a container of dried figs and raisins, [314] also as a table upon which bowls are set and upon which bread rests during repasts. These articles are made from either *halfa* or palmetto, whichever is available. They are distributed through Beni Mohammed, Shawia, Ulad Alu Fars, Khebaba, Iharshliyen, and Ain el

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Central Riffian Pottery

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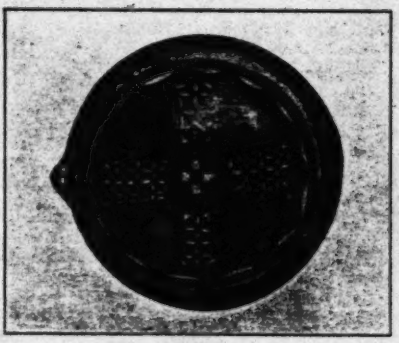

Targuist

Gennaya

Gennaya

Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 76]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

Wickerwork, the third type, is called *asarow n'ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroan, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghruth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

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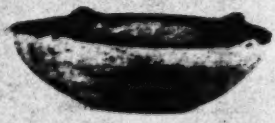
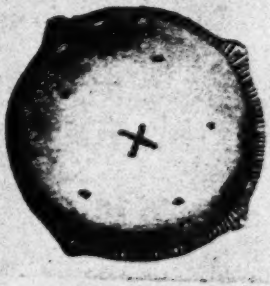
Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same





Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iberrusben, Gennaya

[285]
[177]

[facing p. 78]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[13] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[14] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[13] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[14] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *e*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

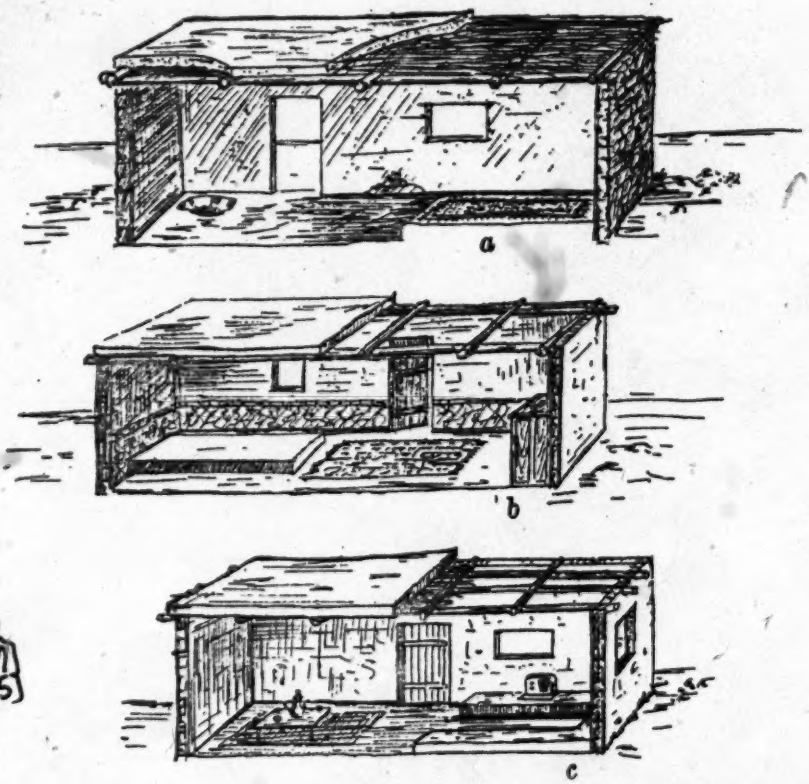


Fig. 20. Riñan houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

[See p. 127--Analyst]